

of troops against Moscow. Their main plague, however, was unemployment, largely a consequence of the November lockouts.

All the news from the provinces was bad. Punitive expeditions were roaming through the country, competing with one another in sadistic executions and massacres of prisoners and hostages. But the fire of revolution still glowed under the ashes. The newspapers headlined local terroristic acts, assaults on the police, armed resistance against arrest, holdups in the name of the revolution.

The distribution of political forces had changed. The moderately liberal Constitutional Democratic party (the Cadets) had proclaimed its allegiance to the constitutional monarchy. At the right, new parties emerged, ranking from a small conservative group of Peaceful Reform to the pogrom-minded Union of Russian People.

The Black Hundreds tried to gain support among workers disillusioned with the leftist parties. Patriotic pubs were opened in factory districts, but they were patronized mainly by property owners, police agents, and derelicts. In the Neva precinct, the workers disposed of one such pub: a hand grenade was hurled through a window into the barroom, and fleeing guests were greeted with another hand grenade and a volley of revolver shots. Many were killed or wounded but nobody was arrested, although the assault occurred in plain sight of a crowd.

On February 12, 1906, a manifesto announced the forthcoming election of representatives to the Duma. These representatives of the people were to convene on April 27, in St. Petersburg. The electoral law provided for indirect elections, with separate voting by landowners, peasants, wealthy people in the cities, factory workers, and the rest of the urban population. In each constituency the landowners and urban property owners combined could be sure of a majority, but a split in their vote would give a majority to the parties supported by the other groups of voters.

The leftist parties faced the choice of taking part in the elections or boycotting them. The Bolshevik organization called a conference to discuss the problem—a secret meeting in a fashionable private school. The keynote speaker was Lenin, whom I heard here for the first time. His speech seemed colorless and monotonous; he repeated words and whole sentences again and again and did not argue against his opponents. Rather, after having presented their views in a more or less caricatured form, he would say, "This is ridiculous. They are too smart not to know how ridiculous this is, but they think workers will not notice."

Lenin, however, was an effective speaker. He seemed to hammer his ideas into his listeners' heads not by arguments but by the almost hypnotic power of his will. After having brought home a statement